They compare the knowledge they have about their environment with the knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is substantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilineally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.

Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

*601 to Ego's father's clan.

561 iyegedu ("grandson"): Any man of the same moiety who
562 is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego iyedaga. Any man of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

irago ("granddaughter"): Any woman of the same moiety who is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego iyedaga. Any woman of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

*601 A further extragenealogical extension of kinship terms
82 includes all the world. All plants, animals, rivers, mountains, stars, and even spirits are conceived as connected to a particular clan or subclan. How these connections became established differs from case to case. Some animals were already part of a certain clan in mythical times when there was not yet a difference between animals and people. Some other items were seen for the first time by a member of a specific clan. For many others the Bororo do not know to whom they belong. However they have no doubt that everything belongs to somebody, and if they do not know it, it is because today the knowledge of the people is limited. Any such item, if connected with one's own clan, or, by extension, with any clan of one's moiety, will be considered the person's grandfather or grandmother. If it is connected with one's father's clan, or, by extension, with any clan of the opposite moiety,

*601 it will be considered the person's father or grandmother.
82 If a Bororo killed a bird and brought it into the village, it is quite common to hear another Bororo jokingly tell the hunter: "Alas! You killed my poor little grandfather" (Aru! Ichare are iyedaga pega-rogu bitto).

*601 Change of Kinship Terms on the Occasion of Death
768 Another important transfer of terms is connected with
616 funeral ceremonies. On this occasion, the terms that are normally used only for people of one's own moiety are extended to the people of the other moiety. Every person who dies must have a living mother who will continue to take care of him, cooking for him the food for the festive "meal of the spirits" which takes place in the plaza of the village.
[765] If the true mother is already dead, some other woman of her lineage will take her place and the new mother will be called "mother" by all the people who slash themselves to express their sorrow, without regard to whether they are from one or the other moiety. The husband of this woman will be called "father." Thus somebody may acquire a "mother" of the other moiety and a "father" who was a "brother" before that. The new terms are used both referentially and vocatively and the previous designations are dropped. Every person who dies should also have his living representative chosen from the male members of the opposite moiety. This man will take the place of the dead person within the lineage, and he will be addressed by the kinsmen of the dead person by the same term they used for the dead. Necessary adjustments are made for

82 are still one. The sun is Bope, his younger brother the
775 moon is Bope, Burekoibo is Bope, jaguar, puma, ocelot are
776 Bope, but all of these are just different names for one Bope.

When recounting the deeds of the sun (Meri) and the moon (Ari), my informant said: "The sun did this, not the moon. But I think that they are not separated. What one does, the other does it too. They are just one."[1]

7. Earth vs. sky; meaningful speech vs. animal cry; singing vs. barking

Bope and Aroe occupy the same space. Aroe are everywhere; Bope too is everywhere: "Bope is in everything. There is not one thing in which Bope is not present."[2] On the other hand both Bope and Aroe have their more particular places. Bope lives in the sky, the Aroe are on the earth. Like the sun and the moon with which he is identified, Bope lives in the sky; the Aroe inhabit the villages of Bakororo (west) and Itubore (east). Coming from the sky to the earth in three steps, as he does in the preceding myth, the macaw is spatially making transition from nature to culture, from Bope to Aroe.

The same transition is made in the macaw's speech. First

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1 "Meri rore oino, Ari ema karega. Mare imearudae mitodure Meri ro rema. Ekare tuginoi ma ero padure pu me keje. Kode pu ro mitodure erore ema. Oino."

2 Awu Bope meture boe jamedu boe tada. Kodire iya metu kare t tada jiboe bokware."

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"—one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; ariqao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

The Bororo express the difference between culture and nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

The first true village (bororo) was arigao bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.

The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

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[1] "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.
Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji,

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 361 82 [101] [562] [775] The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings, the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe--the spirits or souls--which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It [77] [222] [224] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the [551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] [539] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tubureduqodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day. Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think about themselves as being in the center of the village. The village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village. It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

The distinction between human and animal, and assexuality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions between Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an

asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.

Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most important cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

them their names. The learning of names continues even when people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most important material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends. The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge, who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the villages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties, clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kuruqugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They said to aroe echeba:

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together--they are all cultural acts.

Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the birds and he created the food they eat. He created the animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is

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1 "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echebaji."

2 "Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu botudo jamedu. e kaje. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

776 5. Human vs. non-human; mortal vs. eternal

Bope is not part of the human race. "He does not get sick, he does not get old, he does not die. He does not have a human mother. He does not have a mother, a father, a companion."[1] He is eternal.

775 Aroe, on the other hand, have their human mothers; they are the souls of the dead; they are the ancestors of the Bororo, i.e., the things first seen and named. In the afterlife they have to go through different tests, and it may happen that they vanish completely over the precipice of Akarubo; they are mortal.

82 6. Conscious vs. unconscious; multiplicity vs. unity

775 The Badajebage were the first to see the plaza, but they
776 did not become aware of it. To see something is not enough; it should be consciously perceived and named. Anything seen and named for the first time is Aroe. To see something and to give it a name is to isolate it from the continuity of amorphous, undifferentiated unconscious matter (Bope). It is a cultural process by which the universe is taken apart so that it can be comprehended. There are many names, there are many Aroe, but Bope is just one. Bope is one, yet he has a wife; and he and his wife are still conceived of as one. And he has children; and he and his wife and children

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[1] "Kogodu kare, pega kare, bi kare. Paje kare ji. Uche kare, uwo kare, metuya kare."